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The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1918

Drawn for The Suffragist by Nina E. Allender

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated, 1918)

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Notes of the Week

Servants of Democracy

ONE of the first acts of President Wilson on his arrival in France, after leaving the struggle for democracy here to be carried on by American women without his assistance, was to place upon the grave of Lafayette a wreath bearing the inscription, "In memory of the great Lafayette from a fellow servant of liberty." If Lafayette could come to life he probably would not question this statement since he lived in an age when women were generally unrecognized. The President's remark might ring true to him, while American women remain disfranchised.

For live people today, however, this statement of the President's is as hollow and meaningless as were the words of Mr. Root in Russia concerning free, universal, secret, direct suffrage in the United States.

More Government Discrimination

HARDLY a day passes without the revelation of some new discrimination on the part of "our" government against women. It has been announced that all the girls who were being trained for telephone operators in this country with a view to sending them abroad to work with the American Expeditionary Forces have been ordered dismissed by the War Department. The War Department is continuing to show the same lack of vision it evidenced last summer when Secretary Baker told Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, "This is no time to press your propaganda" when she urged army ranking for women nurses and doctors—a thing which had been granted by the German Imperial government to German women doctors and nurses.

The Navy Department is not behind the War Department in injustice to women employees. This department rates the women who work as seamstresses on flags and uniforms as unskilled laborers. The rating of the employee determines the pay. There are no men employed in the Navy Department rated so low as these skilled women workers who therefore receive such small pay. The committee which determines the rating of the workers is composed entirely of men. The Woman's Trade Union League is urging that a woman be placed on this board. Secretary Daniels has promised to take the matter up for adjustment immediately.

Cleveland's Street Car Employees

THE first clash between women and men working together in the same trade has come in the case of the Cleveland street car employees. This case has been a simple one upon which to generalize and therefore has been given wide publicity throughout the country although it involved only one hundred and fifty women employees. The president of the women's union issued a very clear statement for the women.

"It's a direct attack upon women workers just because they are women. There is no dispute about lowering wages, because we are paid the same wages as men. The men don't want women as competitors for jobs. We applied for admission to their union and they wouldn't have us. And we didn't go on this conductorette job just for a lark, or even as a war-winning necessity. We went because we can handle the job as well as men and because we need the money. Of the 150 conductorettes employed, over 100 supported dependents by their earnings. They are as much breadwinners for a family as men could be."

The women's lawyer, Miss Florence Allen, said:

"We were not fighting the union street car men, but we ask for a square deal and a fair hearing of the case of the women before the Department of Labor or the Labor War Board, whichever governmental agency shall finally decide the dispute between men and women.

"The union men declare they were not fighting the women but struck because the car company ignored the ruling of the secretary of labor. They think the discharge of the women is merely incidental. If 150 of their men, depending on their jobs for a living, were discharged without just cause I don't believe they would think it an incidental matter!"

The spokesman for the men employees replied:

"This strike was not a fight against conductorettes because they are women. Union labor has always been a friend and helper to women in industry. We insist that conductorettes must be discharged because that was the ruling of an investigating committee of the United States Department of Labor, a ruling which the company defies. That's why we fought. The company claims they had to employ women as a war necessity. The government investigators proved the claim unfounded and recommended the discharge of women then employed."

The case is being quoted as an example of the unfairness of government treatment of women. Women should not be diverted, however, from securing justice for all women—the main point—to trying, without any control of government machinery, to obtain the correction of one of the thousand injustices. Women, and especially suffragists, would do well to concentrate first on gaining their enfranchisement; then there will be less difficulty in having grievances like those of the Cleveland women righted, since the women will hold some of the power back of the administration of justice.

Women for Parliament

THE results of the general election in Great Britain last Saturday have not yet reached this country. All the dispatches which have been received are concerned, to a great extent, with the part the women played in the elections. In spite of very bad weather prevailing throughout the country the women turned out in large numbers to vote. In most places the number of women who voted outnumbered the men—in some places by as much as ten to one. The impression seems to prevail that a majority of the women in the southern counties supported the Lloyd George coalition candidates while those in the northern industrial sections supported the labor candidates. It is rumored that a woman may be appointed to the Cabinet and the name of Christabel Pankhurst is suggested for the post. Her election to the House of Commons seems assured. She has had during the campaign the ardent support of the newspapers controlled by Lord Northcliffe—the one time bitter opponent of the militant suffrage tactics.

Another suffragist who has been waging a very vigorous and vivid campaign is Mrs. Philip Snowden, who is running for one seat from Blackburn while her husband runs for the other. Mr. and Mrs. Snowden held a week of meetings in their districts when they spoke to crowded houses and received no opposition whatsoever.

Among the women candidates were Mary McArthur and Margaret Bondfield, of the Labor Party; Miss Farquaharson, standing for the Scottish universities; Miss Boyle, who ran independent of party but stood on a platform of equal pay for equal work. Other candidates indorsed by the Labor Party were Miss Isabel L. Ford and Mrs. Bruce Glasier, the acting editor of the "Labor Leader."

In Ireland **Hannah S. Skeffington** and the Countess Markiewitz, both of whom have served gaol sentences for their Sinn Fein activities, ran on the Sinn Fein ticket.

Many women on this side of the Atlantic are waiting to see if Britishers will be more ready than their own countrymen to choose women representatives.

Women Lawyers in Portugal

THE "Christian Science Monitor" reports, "A Government decree has been issued conferring upon Portuguese women the right to become lawyers and assistants to notaries if they hold a certificate showing that they possess a thorough knowledge of the law. Women are allowed to be officials of the civil register, clerks or officials to the secretaries of state, administrative bodies, etc., on the same terms as men."

There are still a few states in the United States where women are not allowed to practice law.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted
In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.
First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.
Reported from Committee
In the Senate
1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890 Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.
In the House
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.
Voted Upon
In the Senate
January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
October 1, 1918. Yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
In the House
January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by the necessary two-thirds vote.

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced
In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden. Reintroduced in the House December 18, 1917, by Representatives Rankin Raker, Hayden, Taylor, Keating and Mondell.
Referred
In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.
In the House all resolutions reintroduced on December 18 were referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
Reported in the Senate
Favorably September 15, 1917.
Reported in the House
By Judiciary Committee without recommendation December 15, 1917.
By Suffrage Committee with recommendation January 8, 1918.
Present Status
In the Senate
on the calendar awaiting a vote
In the House
Passed January 10, 1918.

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following articles be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

The Suffragist

Editor, Miss Clara Wold

Cartoonist, Mrs. Nina E. Allender

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We Turn to the President

AT the last conference of the Woman's Party at Washington, their executive committee, state chairmen, and national advisory council voted unanimously to gather at the Lafayette Monument opposite the White House, and there burn all the books, messages, and speeches of the President of the United States, bearing upon liberty.

Two days afterward, hundreds of women, representing nearly every state in the Union, publicly burned President Wilson's utterances on liberty, as a symbol of their contempt for words unsupported by deeds.

For such a protest the times called imperiously.

The world is celebrating today the victory of democracy—a victory to which women are told they contributed; yet American women are still denied democracy. The younger and the older nations of Europe are enfranchising women. Every English speaking country in the world has enfranchised them, except the United States. Germany—the country the President refused to treat with because it was that horrible thing, an autocracy—is striving to establish a government of which women shall be free members. We, who crushed her, may ourselves soon be more Prussian than the Prussians. And now the President has broken every national precedent to go to Europe as the apostle of democracy for the world.

Against this humiliation we protest as women and as Americans. We will not allow the country to slip behind the world in democratic development. We will not sit in silence while the President of the United States presents himself to Europe as the representative of a free people, when the American people is not free and he is chiefly responsible for it.

The President, before leaving for France, mentioned suffrage in his message to Congress, and left women to believe that it would be included in the legislative program of the Senate. But it is not in the program. The Democratic Chairman of the Rules Committee, who has the program in charge, has no thought of bringing up the suffrage amendment for a vote. The Democratic Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee does not show the faintest sense of responsibility for its success or produce any plan of action to advance it.

The fact is, the President, by his reference to suffrage in the last message, dextrously shifted the responsibility for action on the suffrage amendment to the Senate, and sailed off to France without taking pains to see that action on the amendment was planned for.

For no one doubts that the President can have suffrage acted upon in this Congress if he so desires. He still controls a Democratic majority in the Senate. Senate committees are still dominated by Democrats. Senate Committee chairmen are his staunchest followers. If the President ordered a second vote taken on suffrage, it would be taken.

Women all over the country are now demanding that a second vote should be taken. Only one more supporter in the Senate is needed, and there are a number of "doubtful" Senators. A second vote would be all gain and no loss. Only seventy days of this Congress remain. At the end of those days, the amendment dies.

In this emergency, we turn to the President, with all the more confidence because he cannot, if he wishes to succeed in his mission abroad, afford to have advertised his luke-warmness concerning the liberties of the American people.

A year ago, the President was appealing to American men to die for liberty; at the same time he was refusing to advance liberty in America. A few women, determined to expose such inconsistency and to end it, stood before the White House with protesting banners, defying the whole power of the government of the United States to remove them. In this unequal battle, the women won, because they aimed with so sure a hand at the Administration's weakest point. They won, and in winning advanced a little bit further the hope of American freedom.

Now the President is urging foreign governments to give up some of the huge spoil of the European War for the sake of world liberty. We at home call to the world that the President is himself making no sacrifice at all for liberty here. He cannot defend this inconsistency. But he can end it. We believe he will end it.

National Advisory Council Demands Action

THE three day conference of the National Woman's Party Advisory Council, State Chairmen and officers opened on Saturday, December 14, with many of the oldest suffragists of the country attending. All through the preceding day State chairmen and officers arrived at headquarters from New York, from Pennsylvania, from Michigan, from California or from South Carolina, each one eager to take part in the plans for the final drive for winning suffrage in this session of Congress.

The meeting on Saturday morning was called to order by Mrs. John Rogers, of New York, Chairman of the National Advisory Council. The large drawing rooms were filled with representatives from all parts of the country. After a brief summary of the situation of suffrage today, Mrs. Rogers made a strong appeal to every American woman to "fight and fight now in the attack on the Senate and the Administration, and so bring this struggle to an end."

The financial report of the year was read by Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall, treasurer of the National Woman's Party, after which Miss Maud Younger, Lobby Chairman, gave a resume of the work accomplished through lobbying in the past year.

Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Finance Chairman, gave a talk, urging every member of the party to do all that can be done in her own state to gain the one thousand dollar quota of the state branch. Mrs. Florence Boeckel, Press Chairman, gave a detailed account of some of the things that can be accomplished through the local press in each town, after which an open discussion followed. Chairmen from all parts of the United States, representatives from small towns and from cities gave colorful reports of the work that had been done through the press in their districts. Everyone knew at least one paper that was ready to work for the federal suffrage amendment, and everyone had promised some editor to get the news of the Conference to him.

AT the afternoon session, Miss Alice Paul outlined the work of the past year and offered plans for continuing the campaign in the states to win the one remaining vote and the campaign of demonstrations beginning the following Monday with a conflagration in front of the White House, of the President's various speeches on liberty.

Many enthusiastic speeches were made by chairmen and delegates from the states represented, in support of the plans. A unanimous vote was cast in favor of the plan outlined by Miss Paul.

In the evening a brilliant dinner was held at headquarters, at which Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Delaware chairman, presided. Mrs. Florence Kelley, secretary of the Consumers' League, spoke of the immediate necessity of gaining the vote for women. Other speakers were Miss Anne Goodrich, Dean of the Army Nurses' Training School; the Reverend Olympia Brown, pioneer suffragist of Wisconsin; Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, of New Jersey; Mrs. Elizabeth Gherberding, of California; Mrs. Richard Wainwright, of Washington; and Frederick O'Brien, of the National Publicity Bureau of the Food Administration.

The Reverend Olympia Brown said in her talk:

"The thing that distresses me is the embarrassment accruing to our position as the savior of world democracy, when we can not even boast that we have accomplished that democracy in our own country. I am sorry for President Wilson. He is in a hard position at the peace table. A position which he might have saved himself, however."

Miss Goodrich spoke of the necessity of woman suffrage as part of our reconstruction program and of its importance in connection with her own work.

From the enfranchised women of the West Mrs. Gherberding brought the plea:

"How can this country go before the Congress of nations, swim into the white searchlight of test of principles, while this inexplicable inconsistency exists? Some of its women have the vote, some have not—why?"

On Sunday afternoon a large mass meeting was held at the National Theatre at which the plans for the demonstration of the following day were announced and everyone was urged to take part in the burning of the President's words as a message to him from Americans who believe in democracy at home.

In the evening a reception to all visitors and friends was held at the National Woman's Party headquarters, with Mrs. Henry Attwater, District Chairman, presiding

The final event of the Conference was the large demonstration at Lafayette Statue on Monday afternoon, when nearly three hundred women gathered to send a message to the President demanding immediate action from him at once on the issue most vital to American women.

America Responds to Appeal of Women for Suffrage

A GREAT crowd of American suffragists filled the National Theatre on Sunday. Very early in the afternoon the seats all through the theatre had been taken by people who had come in response to the appeal of the Woman's Party that Americans join in the protest demonstration of the next day against the mere words and inaction of our President.

Miss Lucy Burns pointed out the necessity of getting the President to back up his words with some definite action. She pointed out how the President has failed to do what plainly lay before him to do for suffrage and has evaded his responsibility by speaking words. Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont and Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch also spoke.

All of Washington seemed to be there, awaiting the pageant of women from every corner of the world—women who have won recognition from their governments years since; women who have won that same recognition only with the more democratic policies of the last year—and American women.

A small group of women, women who have struggled through years of fighting against the opposition of reactionary politicians and Senators, sat at the front of the stage. They had come to make a final plea for democracy at home.

"A great shame will rest upon the Democratic Administration if the womanhood of this country must stand before the world as being the last of its kind as worthy of recognition," said Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont as she ended her speech.

"It is to voice a protest that all the world should hear, that we are here today," said Mrs. Toscan Bennett, of Hartford, Conn., as she introduced the pageant that was to follow.

"Twenty-six more prisoners of hope have served jail sentences in the past year because they felt in their hearts that to desert the cause of liberty in America would be treason to mankind. They are coming here to receive the badge of their immeasurable service, to visualize the march of the women of the world, America enchained will be led by free women of free nations. While we pay tribute to the warriors of American freedom who have, under the generaliship of Alice Paul who dares to lead where any dare to follow, brought us to the threshold of victory, we bow with respect to the free nations who have done that which we all hold nearest our hearts."

THE orchestra began playing the familiar hymn of Britain as the long line of women representing different enfranchised countries came slowly and proudly down the aisles at each side of the theatre, mounted the steps onto the stage, carrying their national flags on high and formed in a gorgeously colored crowd at the back. The orchestra played the national airs of each country as the costumes and flags changed from English to Ca-

Continued on Page 10

American Women Burn President W's

FROM all parts of the country they had come, pioneer suffragists, munition workers, women of the West, toilers, the unenfranchised women of America. For years they had read and heard the words of President Wilson, who has said so much about freedom of the peoples of all countries and has done so little to secure freedom at home. For one whole year they had waited for the final word that would bring freedom to the women of Ameria. They had urged the President; they had implored him, they had picketed him. And after all this the President of the United States had said the same empty words about the women of this country "deserving" political freedom. He had gone on record as favoring woman suffrage; gone on record as "believing" that women should be granted their "sacred rights."

In all these years these women had worked for their right; they had given to their country all that they had to give; they had given to Europe all they had. And after this the President had said that they ought to have the vote, and then had sailed serenely off to France.

Harris & Ewing

Women from Thirty-one States Gathering to Burn the President's Words

THE long line of women and girls formed beside the bright walls of the Woman's Party Headquarters. At the head was Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley carrying the American flag. Then came the speakers with the purple, white and gold banners of suffrage, and the torch bearers, fifty of them. The wind snapped furiously at the flickering flames, the mist dropped lower and lower as each one came around the corner of the building and started across the street toward Lafayette Monument, where many another demonstration of the Woman's Party has been held. There had been a plan to march to the Senate, but with the President sailing off to Europe to secure freedom for everyone but his own people, there was no hope of getting his party to do anything for that freedom. Again women must demand action from the party leader.

One torch after another came past the corner, and at last there was another fluttering of purple, white and gold banners. On and on they came nearly three hundred women from thirty-one states in the country. Crowds ran along the edge of Lafayette Square; they rushed along the street; they tumbled over each other in their astonishment at seeing women from the East, from the West, from the South and the middle West all asking for so simple a thing as political freedom at home.

Would the police let them go onto the statue? Would they be permitted to speak at all? Would they really let these women burn words of the President just because those words are meaningless?

THE long line turned at the statue. One by one the women mounted it while the police cleared the way for them. At the base of the monument the torch bearers formed a semi-circle around the flaming caldron into which the tomes and scripts of President Wilson's words on freedom were to be flung. Women from New York passed through the line of flaming torches and mounted the monument. Women from Pennsylvania followed them. From Massachusetts, New Jersey, South Carolina, Oregon, Tennessee, Nebraska, from everywhere they came surrounding the statue until it was almost hidden from those on the street.

The flames leaped higher and higher in the darkness while the crowd of women surged on. There came a short pause, and then Miss Vida Milholland, remembered by all the suffragists who have served prison sentences because they asked for freedom, for the times when she sang for them outside the prison walls, stepped forward and sang the "Woman's Marseillaise."

Mrs. John Rogers, of New York, chairman of the National Advisory Council, who presided at the demonstration, declared that:

"We hold this meeting to protest against the denial of liberty to American women. All over the world today we see surging and sweeping irresistibly on, the great tide of democracy, and women would be derelict to their duty if they did not see to it that it brings freedom to the women of this land.

"England has enfranchised her women, Canada has enfranchised her women, Russia has enfranchised her women, the liberated nations of Central Europe are enfranchising their women. America must live up to her pretensions of democracy!

"Our ceremony today is planned to call attention to the fact that President Wilson has gone abroad to establish democracy in foreign lands when he has failed to establish democracy at home. We burn his words on liberty today, not in malice or anger, but in a spirit of reverence for truth.

"This meeting is a message to President Wilson. We expect an answer. If it is more words, we will burn them again. The only answer the National Woman's Party will accept is the instant passage of the amendment in the Senate."

Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett, member of the National Advisory Council from Connecticut was the first speaker introduced. "It is because we are moved by a passion for democracy," she said, "that we are here to protest against the President's forsaking the cause of freedom in America and appearing as a champion of freedom in the old world. We burn with shame and indignation that President Wilson should appear before the representatives of nations who have enfranchised their women, as chief spokesman for the right of self-government while American women are denied that right. We are held up to ridicule to the whole world.

"We consign to the flames the words of the President which have inspired women of other nations to strive for their freedom while their author refuses to do what lies in his power to do to liberate the women of his own country. Meekly to submit to this dishonor to the nation would be treason to mankind.

"Mr. President, the paper currency of liberty which you hand to women is worthless fuel until it is backed by the gold of action."

Then began the burning of much erudition on freedom. The Reverend Olympia Brown, of Wisconsin, 84 years old, said as she threw into the flames the latest words of President Wilson, his two speeches made on the first day of his visit to France, "America has fought for France and the common cause of liberty. I have fought for liberty for seventy years and I

...'s Meaningless Words On Democracy

protest against the President leaving our country with this old fight here unwon."

Mrs. John Winters Brannan, the New York chairman of the Woman's Party, burned the address made by President Wilson at the Metropolitan Opera House in opening the fourth Liberty Loan Campaign in which he justified women's protest when he said: "We have been told it is unpatriotic to criticise public action. If it is, there is a deep disgrace resting upon the origin of this nation. We have forgotten the history of our country if we have forgotten how to object, how to resist, how to agitate when it is necessary to readjust matters."

Miss Mary Ingham, Pennsylvania chairman, burned President Wilson's speech of the Fourth of July, 1914, in which he said: "There is nothing in liberty unless it is translated into definite action in our own lives today." Miss Ingham said: "In the name of the women of Pennsylvania who are demanding action of the President, I consign these words to the flames."

Mrs. Agnes Morey, Massachusetts chairman, flung into the caldron President Wilson's book "The New Freedom," saying as she did so, "On today, the anniversary of the Boston Tea Party, in the name of the liberty loving women of Massachusetts, I consign these words to the flames in protest against the exclusion of women from the Democratic program of this Administration."

Mrs. Henrietta Briggs, of Kansas, burned President Wilson's address given at Independence Hall, July 4, 1914, when he said: "Liberty does not consist in mere general declarations of the rights of man. It consists in the translation of these declarations into action."

Miss Susan Frost, of South Carolina, burned President Wilson's last message to Congress in which he again spoke words without results.

Mrs. Townsend Scott, of Maryland, cast into the flames his message to socialists in France, saying: "The enemies of liberty from this time forth must be shut out."

Mrs. Eugene Shippen, of Michigan, burned this message to Congress: "This is a war for self-government among all the peoples of the world as against the arbitrary choices of self-constituted masters."

Sara P. Grogan, of Georgia, burned another message to Congress dealing with liberty for other nations.

Miss Clara Wold, of Portland, Oregon, representing Western voting women, burned the message to Congress demanding self-government for Phillipinos.

Mrs. Jessie Adler, of Ohio, burned the speech to the Chamber of Commerce of Columbus, "I believe that democracy is the only thing that vitalizes the whole people."

Mrs. Percy Reed, of Virginia, burned this message to Congress: "Liberty is a fierce and intractable thing to which no bounds can be set and no bounds ought to be set."

Miss Sue White, state chairman of the Tennessee branch, burned the President's reply to President Poincare, of France.

Mrs. Mary P. Sutherland, of Washington, burned the words, "I believe the might of America is the sincere love of its people for the freedom of mankind."

Miss Editha Phelps, secretary of the Illinois branch. burned the Flag Day address.

Miss Doris S. Stevens, of Nebraska, member of the National Executive Committee, burned the statement to Democratic women before election: "I have done everything I could and shall continue to do everything in my power for the federal suffrage amendment."

Dr. Caroline Spencer, of Colorado, burned the words which President Wilson said when he laid a wreath on the tomb of Lafayette "in memory of the great Lafayette—from a fellow servant of liberty."

Mrs. Margaret Oakes, of Idaho, burned the suffrage message to the Senate, "we shall deserve to be distrusted if we do not enfranchise our women."

Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles ended the meeting with a declaration that women would continue their struggle for freedom, and would burn the words of President Wilson even as he speaks them until he and his party make these words good by granting political freedom to women of America.

Back to the headquarters of the National Woman's Party the long line marched again, while the crowd which at first had shouted and occasionally disapproved, applauded or silently walked along beside the unwavering line of determined women. Into their consciousness, at least, had been burned the realization that the women of this country surely must have the rights that President Wilson has demanded for other people, the rights that he has demanded for Philippinos, for nearly all our allies and even for Germany and Austria.

The torch bearers were Mrs. John Winters Brannan, of New York; Miss Mary Ingham, of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Agnes Morey, of Massachusetts; Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, of New Jersey; Miss Doris Stevens, of Nebraska; Mrs. Harvey Wiley, of Indiana; Miss Susan P. Frost, of South Carolina; Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe, of Texas; Dr. Caroline Spencer, of Colorado; Mrs. A. R. Colvin, of Minnesota; Mrs. Jessie Adler, of Ohio; Mrs. Annie G. Porritt, of Connecticut; Mrs. Percy Reed, of Virginia; the Reverend Olympia Brown, of Wisconsin; Miss Editha Phelps, of Illinois; Mrs. W. A. Vincent, of West Virginia; Mrs. Eugene Shippen, of Detroit; Miss Sara P. Grogan, of Georgia; Miss Hazel Hunkins, of Montana; Miss Clara Wold, of Oregon; Miss Sue White, of Tennessee; Mrs. Kathleen Boyle, of Delaware; Mrs. H. B. Wall, of Kansas; Mrs. Mary P. Sutherland, of Washington; Mrs. Mary Oakes, of Idaho; Miss Rebecca Garrison, of Missouri, and Miss Clara Louise Rowe, of California.

The Massachusetts Delegation leaving Boston for the Conference in Washington

Burning His Majesty's Words

By Louise Bryant, Staff Correspondent in Russia for the Philadelphia Public Ledger

THE procession was so long that when we reached Lafayette statue and looked back we could still see a line of purple and gold banners stretching all along the square and bending back into the little alley next to the suffrage headquarters, where it began.

The only emotion I had all the time I was walking along and after I had climbed onto the statue was one of shame. I felt red in the face. I had an almost over-powering unladylike desire to break somebody's head, by way of relief. It seemed so degrading to me to have to plead for suffrage! Seven years ago I took an active part in the campaign in Oregon and after we had won, suffrage went out of my mind, and other things took its place. I saw the women killing themselves in the ammunition factories of Europe, helpless under the great pressure of the world war, slipping back and not forward. Then I went to Russia which is the only country in the world where women are really free, and I lived there for the better part of a year and saw how they flowered under the sunny skies of equality. . . . All this passed through my mind kaleidoscopically as I stood at the feet of the bronze Lafayette.

A middle aged woman beside me touched my elbow and I noticed that her eyes were full of tears. We began to talk. Bitterness welled up in her and she cringed under the jeers of hoodlums. It hurt her to see a crowd of Americans laughing at dirty jests hurled at white-haired women and young girls. Men in uniform covered with decorations stood by and approved, politicians enjoyed the degrading spectacle and even women applauded. I felt somehow that they would have enjoyed it more if it had been a hanging or if the women were being beaten. . . .

I was in charge of a dozen college girls. It was their first visit to the Capital and I felt truly sorry for them. They couldn't get it out of their thoughts for a minute that this was the city of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. They saw the state buildings and the White House as through a mist. Just before the meeting broke up we were told to sing the Star Spangled Banner. "I won't sing it!" one of them burst out. "This isn't a free country. I always thought it was, but it isn't! I'll wait until we make it so before I sing like a parrot. . . . "

Sometimes I wonder what can be working in the minds of our clever politicians. Take my twelve college girls: They represent, in a way, youth. And they have everything; all the power of what is to come within the next few years in their hands. Their trip to Washington absolutely obliterated for them any idea of ever affiliating with either the Democratic or Republican Party. Youth is cruel and unforgiving because it has fresh eyes and can look at the truth without blinking. They were convinced that we will never get suffrage because these gentlemen believe in it, but only because we force them to give it to us. And that doesn't fit with their idea of Washington or Lincoln. They went away with contempt in their hearts for our "noble" statesmen.

Perhaps it is because we are used to such crooked reasoning that we can bear to stand it at all. Once I tried to explain to Marie Spirodonova, that marvellous Russian woman with more political power than any other woman in the world, about our system of suffrage. "When I was in Oregon," I said, "we were granted the vote but soon after that I moved to New York and then I was disfranchised because in New York they were still fighting for it. Now since I've been in Russia New York is free so I am again a citizen again—provided that I do not move to another state."

She knitted her brows and thought for a moment then she remarked sadly, "But that is not democracy."

"Who Does Senator Borah Represent"

Speech by Miss Margaret Whittemore at Conference Dinner

"WHEN a woman finally wins that 'sacred right' to a voice in her own government, the first thing she learns about herself is that she has strangely overnight changed from a mere suffragist into a 'constituent.' To one who has gone through this metamorphosis it is almost inconceivable that a suffrage state could send to the United States Senate a man who has voted against the federal suffrage amendment. And yet that is what Idaho has done in the case of Borah.

"It is all very simple, after all," says Miss Margaret Whittemore, Organizer of the National Woman's Party.

"You see, when Senator Borah voted against the amendment he was not pledged to suffrage; and when Senator Borah accepted the whole platform of the Republican Party and also that of the Non Partisan League, naturally the women of Idaho, as well as the men, supposed that he was sincere this time and was responding to all of Idaho's demand that he change his vote on the amendment.

"IT is always difficult to educate a whole state in one week, and yet the National Woman's Party opened its assault on Senator Borah with a vigor and originality that carried its effect throughout Idaho.

"To the northernmost part of Idaho, right on the border of enfranchised Canada, suffragists motored, telling the people that Senator Borah had again vacillated, that he had repudiated the platforms of the two parties that had promised their support to him.

"A trip of two days and two nights down into the southern part of Idaho to Twin Falls took our campaign from the deserted mining country into a new, vigorous farming community, which was granted by all political leaders of the State to be a stronghold for Borah, who has made his greatest promises to the farmers of Idaho. In this community the women have organized their rural clubs and have chosen as president of sixteen of them Mrs. John E. White, of Twin Falls, a brilliant college woman and a rancher.

"A meeting was called at which was read the message of the women of the East to the West asking for the defeat of Senators who have in any way blocked the passage of the suffrage amendment. Mrs. White explained how Senator Borah has quibbled and fluctuated on suffrage and asked the women to vote against him. For the few remaining days she went from one town to another talking to the women, and on the day the vote was taken, the district which was expected to return the largest majority in favor of Senator Borah, sent in 172 votes against him.

"BUT there was not enough time to convince people who had already been given the impression that Senator Borah would vote for suffrage, and so he was re-elected. There was but one thing to do—the people of Idaho would again have to besiege their Senator with telegrams and letters demanding his favorable vote on the amendment.

"Not a day goes by without action. The clubs of Idaho are beginning to meet again after the removal of the influenza ban. Mrs. John C. McGlinchey, of Payette, who is a member of the Advisory Board of the National Federation of Woman's Clubs, told me that the club women of Idaho are entirely out of sympathy with Senator Borah and will now make a supreme effort to gain his vote on the amendment.

"Labor throughout Idaho has gone on record as being opposed to the action of Borah, and resolutions have been sent from innumerable organizations demanding Borah's vote for suffrage. Senator Borah does not represent the women of Idaho, he does not represent labor, and now, when I come to Washington and tell Southern women that Senator Borah attempts to say that he is protecting their wishes they are indignant. Who *does* Senator Borah represent?"

Louisiana Organizes for Senator Gay's Vote

By Vivian Pierce

National Organizer for the Woman's Party in Louisiana

HERE is a strong feeling in Louisiana that, in spite of his statement to the contrary, Senator Gay may vote for the federal suffrage amendment. The National Woman's Party has opened temporary headquarters in New Orleans, and will reach into every part of the State in order to test suffrage sentiment, and above all to let Senator Gay know the result. The recent Louisiana vote proved that outside of New Orleans, corruptly controlled, the State is overwhelmingly for suffrage. Labor is on record not only for State suffrage, but for the federal amendment. The club women of the State, its federated members numbering nearly 18,000, are for federal suffrage, and it is largely because of this attitude of Southern women that southern men are changing.

The New Orleans headquarters, at 325 Carondelet St., is in one of the picturesque buildings that recall the days of the Spanish occupation. It is a low business building, its upper floors surrounded by the "galleries" with ornamental iron railings that add the foreign touch that makes New Orleans individual as a city. The large twenty by fifty feet room in which the Party headquarters is located, is divided by a temporary partition and hung with the familiar purple, white and gold picket banners and the "Demand" banner. The furniture in the headquarters has been donated by New Orleans members, who have formed a committee to take charge of the office every afternoon, selling The Suffragist on Carondolet street, one of the main arteries of the city, and advertising the fact that Louisiana women are embarking on another suffrage campaign.

THE headquarters committee is made up of Mrs. M. R. Bankston, chairman for the State; Mrs. Randolph Lyons, Mrs. W. J. Roach, Mrs. E. J. Graham, Mrs. J. P. Bentley, Mrs. Alice M. Cosu, Mrs. Frank Rice, Mrs. C. A. Meissner, Mrs. Rosella S. Bayhi, Mrs. L. Midena.

Mrs. E. J. Graham and Mrs. A. M. Cosu and myself are speaking before labor organizations every night, telling them the Congressional situation and urging the sending of resolutions to remind Senator Gay that labor demands the passage of the federal suffrage amendment as a means of self protection. As one man expressed it, "Unenfranchised labor women will be a stone tied around the neck of labor in these reconstruction times. Labor men must demand that labor women be given the means to protect themselves, leaving us free to make our own difficult fight."

Neighborhood meetings are being held every day in the week in various sections of New Orleans. The following meetings were held this week, from all of which resolutions and individual letters were sent to Senator Gay: at the homes of Mrs. L. Midena, Mrs. J. P. Bentley, Mrs. R. S. Bayhi, Mrs. E. J. Graham. Suffrage talks have also been given before many clubs, which have sent strong resolutions, including the City Federation of Women's Clubs, of New Orleans; the Fifth Ward Civic League and the Woman's Party Branch

Mrs. Randolph Lyons, of New Orleans, one of the members of the Louisiana Woman's Party Headquarters Committee

at the opening of the city headquarters. The Catharine Club, a large philanthropic organization, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy also heard the suffrage situation in relation to Senator Gay discussed, sending individual protests. The Labor Councils of New Orleans—the Building Trades, Metal Trades, and Trade and Labor Councils, representing hundreds of labor organizations, have sent protests to Senator Gay. Members of the Woman's Party are now appearing before the individual organizations that Labor as a whole may go on record.

T the opening of the local headquarters a large group of women volunteered to take up the work of the new campaign to get Senator Gay's vote. The speakers were Mrs. M. R. Bankston, state chairman; and Mrs. E. J. Graham. At this meeting a resolution was sent to Senator Gay, asking him to yield to the wishes of his constituents, and hospitality and membership committees were formed. Mrs. Bankston in her outline of the present suffrage situation that so closely affects Louisiana made a moving plea for union at this time. She reverted to the struggle of the pioneers and paid a high tribute to Mrs. Nina Allender in speaking of the work of Susan B. Anthony.

"I think Mrs. Allender is the greatest cartoonist in this country," she said. "To thousands of women she has visualized our long struggle. I remember the Civil War, and had the old prejudice against Susan B. Anthony because she was an 'abolitionist.' I couldn't bring anything but my head to the federal work. Then one day I came upon Nina Allender's cartoon of Susan B. Anthony toiling up the steps of the Capitol, a little tiny dauntless figure, with her petitions—all alone. All of a sudden I realized her fight. I realized we were part of her army, an army with banners, carrying on what she so nobly began. It was that cover of The Suffragist that made me realize it."

WITH the help of many volunteer workers we expect to speak in many cities of Louisiana and to crystalize the federal suffrage sentiment that even Senator Gay may be unable to evade his responsibility. Meetings will be held in Shreveport, Natchitoches, Franklin, Patterson, Lake Charles and other northern and western points in the State. On January 31 a State conference will be held for the purpose of electing State officers for the coming year, for planning ratification, and for electing delegates to the National Convention of the Woman's Party, which will be held following the adjournment of Congress in Washington.

The following resolution was adopted at the headquarters meeting and sent to Washington:

"Whereas, the President of the United States is urging the passage of the federal suffrage amendment, enfranchising the women of this nation, as a necessary war and reconstruction measure, and as a measure of simple justice to the women who have made sacrifices as great as any men have made during the period of the war, therefore be it

"Resolved, that we, the Louisiana Branch of the National Woman's Party, at a meeting held at the Louisiana State Headquarters, 325 Carondelet street, New Orleans, urge Senator Gay to support the President and to follow the wishes of his own constituents, by voting and by working for the passage of the federal suffrage amendment THIS session of Congress; and be it further.

"Resolved, that a copy of this resolution be sent to Senator Gay in Washington, with a request that it be read into the Congressional Record."

Concluded from Page 5

America Responds to Appeal of Women for Suffrage

nadian, from Canadian to Irish. There were the Russians, the Ukrainians, the Czecho-Slovaks, the Icelandic women, those from New Zealand, from Denmark, from Norway, from Brittany and from Australia. And when at length all these women had taken their places, there came a burst of applause as the orchestra played the "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

Down the same aisles came twenty-six women in white, bearing aloft the purple, white and gold banners which have been carried through the long struggle for American democracy for women. Twenty-six women, who have served prison sentences in the past year for asking for the freedom which belongs to them. They, too, mounted the steps, stopped to receive their prison pin as a mark of honor, and took their places beside the other workers for political freedom.

TALKS were made about the past fight for suffrage, about the remaining struggle, and finally Mrs. Toscan Bennett asked the audience to make pledges for the fund for the fight that must continue. In less than an hour pledges were made for over fifty thousand dollars to continue the suffrage campaign. A pledge for $25,000 was made by the New York Branch of the National Woman's Party, which only a week before had raised a pledge of $10,000 at a dinner at Holland House. The Pennsylvania Branch, which had already pledged $3,000, added $12,000 to its pledge. Michigan, Minnesota, Delaware, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Illinois, California and New Jersey each pledged $1,000 or more. A group of Vassar girls were among those who made pledges. The Woman's Trade Union League of Worcester Mass., girls from Hunter College and girls from Barnard also added to the fund. Everyone entered into the game of winning one more favorable Senator for suffrage. Men and women pledged in honor of their sons in France, in honor of their grandchildren, in honor of the colored soldiers in France, in honor of Quaker ancestors; and there were those who pledged their money to Senator Moses' vote, or to Senator Gay's vote, or even to Senator Borah's.

The speakers at the meeting were, besides Mrs. Belmont and Mrs. Bennett, Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch, Miss Maude Younger and Miss Lucy Burns. Mrs. Jane Osborne Hannah, formerly of the Metropolitan Opera Company, sang the "Women's Marsellaise," composed by Miss Hazel Mackaye, and the "March of the Women."

Mrs. Jessie Hardy Mackaye was in charge of the decorations for the meeting, and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Finance Chairman, who has been more than successful in raising the fifty thousand dollar fund, which the National Woman's Party needed for its campaign, was in charge of the general arrangements for the meeting.

Treasurer's Report

Treasurer, Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall
Bank of Deposit, American Security and Trust Co. Washington, D. C.

Auditors: Marwick, Mitchell Peet & Co.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO $500,000.00 FUND FOR PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

COLLECTIONS FROM DECEMBER, 1912

List of Contributions from Dec. 3 through Dec. 7, 1918

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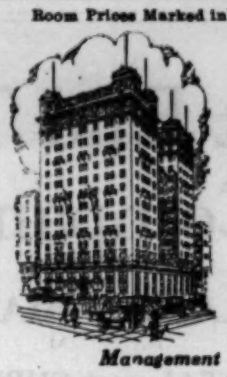
Mrs. E. E. Ayers, Va.	1.00
Mrs. Jean F. Coolidge, N. H.	1.00
Miss Laura T. Preston, Va.	1.00
Miss Mildred Conway Sawyer, N. Y.	2.00
Miss Lucy Cate Abercrombie, N. J.	25.00
Miss Bertha A. Mulhall, S. C.	1.00
Mrs. C. L. Wheeler, Mo.	1.00
Dr. Maude Herrold, Mo.	5.00
Miss Mildred B. Miller, Pa.	1.50
Mrs. H. H. Jones, Va.	10.00
Miss Leonora Krumm, Ohio	1.00
Mrs. Samuel Metzger, N. J.	5.00
Miss Mary Mulford, N. J.	3.00
Miss Mary E. Bakewell, Pa.	5.00
Miss A. G. Batchelor, Ill.	1.00
Miss Thirza P. Davis, Mc.	1.00
Mrs. Grace J. Cowan, Pa.	.24
Dr. Margaret Long, Col.	1.00
Membership Fees	.50
Total collected by National Headquarters	2,147.99
Previously Acknowledged in The Suffragist	373.720.96
Total collected by National Headquarters through Dec. 7, 1918	375,868.95
Total Collected by Branches through Dec. 7, 1918	71,698.52
Grand Total	447,567.47
Deduction: Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters	4,181.50
Grand Net Total	$443,385.97

PERSONS SECURING SUFFRAGIST SUBSCRIPTIONS THROUGH DECEMBER 16 INCLUSIVE

New Jersey Branch	6
Mrs. L. C. Ryce, Alabama	2
Mrs. A. H. Bright, Minnesota	1
Mrs. Carrie Wright, Wisconsin	2
Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe, Texas	2
Miss Mary DuBrow, New Jersey	1
California Branch	1
National Headquarters	1
Mrs. Henry Balch, Wyoming	5
M. J. Ross, Massachusetts	2
Mrs. Robert G. Fuller, Massachusetts	1
Mrs. Hallam Morris, Massachusetts	1
Ruth Small, Massachusetts	2
Alice Henkle, Illinois	1
Elizabeth Sherman, Massachusetts	6
Penn. Suffragist Com., Pennsylvania	3
Mrs. Florence P. Blankarn, Pennsylvania	1
Clara Louise Rowe, New Hampshire	18
Colorado Branch	1
Maryland Branch	1
Wisconsin Branch	1
New York Branch	1
Jessica Granville Smith, D. C.	1
Miss Sarah Grogan, D. C.	1
Anita Pollitzer, D. C.	2
Mrs. McIvor, D. C.	1
Mrs. J. McI. Riley, D. C.	4
Elizabeth Kalb, D. C.	9
Total	78
Renewals	40

Room Prices Marked in Plain Figures in th oom



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